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BIBLIOGRAPHY ON YEMEN
AND
NOTES ON MOCHA

by
ERIC MACRO



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University of Miami Press
Coral Gables, Florida
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PREFACE

In London during 1957 Wing Commander Eric Macro gave me his manuscript on Yemen, consisting of text and bibliography as well as notes on the fort of Mocha, for presentation to the Editorial Committee of the University of Miami Press.

The Committee accepted this manuscript, with the omission of certain political sections, for inclusion in the Near East Series, especially since this would form a companion volume to Macro's "Bibliography of Arabia," 1958, with 2380 titles.

For reference, the complete, revised text of the manuscript was placed on Microfilm No. 6099, pp. 1-225, in the American Documentation Institute, c/o Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, where a copy may be purchased.

The Bibliography with about 1000 titles, for in many cases several references are grouped under the same number, required considerable checking as well as the addition of many page references.

In Widener Library Mrs. Edith M. Laird checked many titles and made some valuable additions. Editorial revisions were made by Mrs. Charlotte Weed in Coconut Grove, Florida. Dr. Claude T. Richards prepared the list of Abbreviations to conform to those used in our "Bibliographies on Southwestern Asia: I-VI" and also checked the Bibliography on Yemen and the notes on Mocha.

The sixteen languages from which titles were selected were: Arabic, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish.

The subjects covered Anthropogeography (including Politics and Oil), Zoology and Botany. The reader is also referred to our "Bibliographies on Southwestern Asia: I-V" with forthcoming Subject Indexes and B:VI. Attention is called to the following: (a) Macro references (Nos. 548 and 552); (b) my "Ancient and Modern Man in Southwestern Asia," pp. 118-24, University of Miami Press, 1956; and (c) No. 560 should have been listed under Anonymous.

The complete manuscript was typed by Mrs. Charlotte Weed and Mrs. Birdie P. Levine. Corrections to the IBM copy were inserted by Mr. Thomas Rothe at South House, Tyngham, Massachusetts.

Since I edited the final text and checked all the cards and typed sheets for photo-offset, all Errata remain my full responsibility. The composition for the copy for photo-offset by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was made on my IBM electric typewriter by Mr. Mark Grant, who prepared the final copy in Coconut Grove, Florida.

In conclusion, our gratitude must be expressed to Wing Commander Eric Macro, who compiled the Bibliography on Yemen and the notes on the port of Mocha, during his tours of duty in the Royal Air Force.

It has been a great pleasure to collaborate with Mr. Malcolm Ross, Editor, University of Miami Press, on this welcome addition to our Near East Series.

HENRY FIELD

October 12, 1959
Coconut Grove,
Florida

INTRODUCTION

When Augustine Fitzhugh drew up his chart and panorama of Mocha in 1683 that main port of the Yemen of those days had already reached its heyday. The prosperity of the country depended upon its trade with the outside world and consequently upon the commercial transactions conducted at the port which has given its name to the finest coffee in the world.

Mocha, now a miserable ruin, has long since been replaced as the port of the Yemen by Hodeida and some of the romance of those early years which the East India Companies gave to the Yemen can now only be revived by the diligent reader of the early travelers' tales.

I have never been able to discover any paper or article dealing fully with the port of Mocha. I hope that these notes will help to fill that gap and that they will also serve as a summary of what has already been recorded by visitors to that now ruined port. I hope that this paper can be used as a basis for further research. I am much indebted to my friend Professor C. F. Beckingham on whose work concerning the Dutch East India Company I have drawn very fully.

It has been my aim to reconstruct the Mocha of the English, Dutch and French East India Company days and to produce a paper which might be useful to those who may in the future visit it. I have regretfully excluded, to avoid repetition, much valuable information contained in Kristoff Glaman's "Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740" (Köbenhavn, 1958) and J. C. van Leur's "Indonesian Trade and Society" (Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, 1955).

The dates given in the text are not always accurate to a year (except where the month is mentioned). This is due to the vagueness about dates on the part of some of the travelers whose works have been consulted.

In addition to the special interest of the port of Mocha, the Arabia Felix of the Romans also holds its fascination. Even today the kingdom of Yemen is almost virgin territory to the European. Oil derricks, tarmac roads, higher education and the clamor of modern civilization are fast encroaching over the whole of the Arabian peninsula. The mountains of the Yemen are the last in Arabia to hold out against Western penetration. For some hundreds of years now it has been the "forbidden land" of Arabia. And because its gates have ever been closed to foreigners the Yemen has attracted many a bold adventurer, explorer and scientist to its fertile and colorful lands. The proverbial "forbidden land" always provides material for a disproportionately large number of books and other narratives by those who have managed to break down the barriers of entry. The Yemen is no exception.

Intercourse between the Yemen and the Western world started in the early days of the Portuguese navigators and (later) the English East India Company and has developed through political relations with the first Political Agent in Aden in 1839 and subsequent frontier skirmishes to the present day treaty relations with European powers.

No writer has yet satisfactorily summarized the history of exploration in the Yemen and the political relations of the Kingdom with Europe and America, nor is there in existence any adequate list of works on the Yemen to which those interested in the country could turn. The port of Mocha for so long a yardstick of the country's prosperity has never been treated adequately on paper.

I cannot claim, in this work, to have overcome these deficiencies entirely. The major part of my work, that on European intercourse with the Yemen, is barely ready for publication.

However, with an increasing Western interest in the Yemen, a bibliography, the first to be published on that Kingdom may well be useful to those who business or pleasure brings them into touch with the history and current affairs of southwest Arabia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many friends for their assistance over a period of years and particularly to Commandant Huet of the French Navy, a late diplomatic colleague in Paris, for his introduction to the Bibliothèque Nationale; to Dr. Henry Field of Coconut Grove, Florida, for his extreme generosity, encouragement, criticism and assistance in publication; to Anne Wyman Bury, whose early travels in the Yemen were perhaps unique; to Dr. Carl Rathjens of Hamburg for original information gained during his long sojourn in the country; to Dr. Hugh Scott of the British Museum (Natural History), who gave me early encouragement and assistance and whose photographs of the Yemen are perhaps the finest black and white ones in existence; to a colleague in aviation (an Italian who must remain anonymous), for his assistance with Italian literature; to Commander Peter Shaw R.N., a fellow lecturer, who graciously gave up many evenings in order to translate passages from books and articles in some of the lesser known European languages; to L. Savir of the Embassy of Israel in London for his invaluable assistance with Hebrew literature; to Dr. Harry W. Hazard of Princeton for his scholarship and his unrivalled store of intriguing information about southwestern Arabia; to Dr. Karl Fricke and Dr. H. Karrenberg of the Geological Department in Krefeld; to André Gourlin, once a member of the French Mission at Sana'a; and to Leland Buxton for his experiences in the Yemen more than half a century ago.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Claudie Fayein, of Paris, author of the popular book, "A French Doctor in the Yemen" (London, 1957), for all her assistance in keeping up a lengthy correspondence.

Finally, I am under the greatest obligation to Professor Charles F. Beckingham of Manchester University. For almost ten years he has suffered from my pressing requests for advice, criticism and information. All these he has freely given and I am particularly indebted to him for his papers on the subjects of the early Portuguese and Dutch visitors to the Yemen.

I should emphasize that none of the above-mentioned are necessarily in agreement with anything that is written in the following pages and my acknowledgement to them does not imply that they necessarily wish to identify themselves with the book. The exception to this rule is my wife who during the past 14 years has suffered in good heart a surfeit of my books and documents in all languages on the Yemen. I hope that by seeing some more of the results of many silent evenings now in print she will take them as a tribute to her constant help and encouragement.

ERIC MACRO

London, 1959

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAE--Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia, Florence.
- ASMC--Archivio Italiano di Scienze Mediche Coloniale, Tripoli and Bologna.
- AJTM--American Journal of Tropical Medicine, Baltimore.
- AMHNP--Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.
- ASNP--Annales des Sciences Naturelles, Paris.
- AW--Arab World, London.
- BASO--Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Connecticut.
- BIE--Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, Cairo.
- BMQ--British Museum Quarterly, London.
- BO--Bibliotheca Orientalis; Nederlandsch Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.
- BRSOI--Bollettino, (R.) Società Geografica Italiana, Rome.
- BSFE--Bulletin de la Société Fouad I d'Entomologie, Cairo.
- BSGF--Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France, Paris.
- BSOAS--Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.
- CRAS--Comptes Rendus Hebdomadaires des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences, Paris.
- CRASC--Comptes Rendus Mensuels de l'Académie des Sciences Coloniales, Paris.
- CRSGF--Compte Rendu Sommaire des Séances de la Société Géologique de France, Paris.
- DF--La Documentation Française; Articles et Documents: Orient-Occident, Paris.
- FZ--Fieldiana: Zoology. Chicago Natural History Museum (formerly Field Museum of Natural History).
- GBE--Great Britain and the East, London.
- GJ--Geographical Journal, London.
- GM--Geographical Magazine, London.
- GML--Geological Magazine, London.
- GR--Geographical Review, New York.
- JA--Journal Asiatique, Paris.
- JQR--Jewish Quarterly Review, New York and Philadelphia.
- JRAS--Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- JRCAS--Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, London.
- JRGS--Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, London.
- JSS--Jewish Social Studies, New York.
- KS--Kirjath Sepher, Bibliographical Quarterly of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem.
- LR--Levante, Rome.
- ML--Le Muséon, Louvain. Two Series: Revue d'Etudes Orientales; Etudes Philologiques, Historiques et Religieuses.
- MMEG--Mitteilungen der Münchener Entomologischen Gesellschaft, Munich.
- MW--Muslim World, Hartford, Connecticut. Also published in London.
- NEM--Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- NGM--National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D.C.
- OM--Oriente Moderno, Rome.
- OMO--Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient, Vienna.
- PMG--Petermanns Mitteilungen, Gotha.
- QDC--Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, Paris.
- QJRMS--Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society, London.
- RANL--Rendiconti, Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome.
- RAP--Revue Archéologique, Paris.
- RBAAS--Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, London.
- RCR--Rivista Coloniale, Rome.
- RNP--Revue Numismatique, Paris.
- ROP--Revue de l'Orient, Paris.
- RSO--Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Rome.
- SAW--Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.
- SGM--The Scottish Geographical Magazine, Edinburgh.
- USDAB--United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin, Washington, D.C.
- ZDMG--Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig and Wiesbaden.
- ZGEB--Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin.

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B. NOTES ON MOCHA

A TABLE OF THE MOSTE REMAREKABLE AND PRINCIPALL PLACES ABOUT MOHA

This town of Moha is ye Chieft towne of trade for Shipping in all Arabia Felix it is Scittuated about: 15 Leagues within ye Straights of Babermandell in or neare: ye: Lattitude of: D/13: M/23: wheare: ye: Compafs Varieth about D/12. M/30 Weft. It is Unwald and of Smale Strength and Governed by ye Turkes ye Bashans hath his Residence at Sinam Some: 12: Dayes journey from thence Northmanly If you are bound for ye Road with any Great Shipping com no nearer than 11 or 12 fatham until you have brought ye outhr smaler F and G both in one which is a very Good marke to Com withall till you have brought ye wood R and ye hill O Boath in one and you may Ancor in 9 8 or 7 fatham water as you please about two miles and a halfe from ye Towne. But if your Shipping be of a small Draught you may go in nearer unto this marke and there ride in 5:4 or 3 Fatham water wheare the Shipps of India Commonly Ride)))) Note that the windes of mofte Violence were from the NNE the time that wee Road heare.)))) Also those markes which are sett downe and Coated with Letters are According to there trew Diftance By this Scale: and bearing each from the other trew Diftance By this Scale: and bearing each from the other By the meridinall Compafs)))) Without Respect of Variation

- A Is a Peninfula wheareon Standeth an Gally and a Junk
- B Is a Smalle Groue or heape of trees
- C Is a Tree Standing alone by it Selfe
- D Is a Pagoth or morifh Church
- E Is a Cattle
- F and H are two Small Steples
- G Is the hieft Steple and Chefteft mufquit or Church
- J Is a Key or Mould wheare all Goods is Landed and Shipped
- K Is a Pagouth or morifh Church
- L Is a Whight houfe
- M Is a Black houfe on the poynt of the Land

(Legend on a MS chart and panorama of Mocha in the
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, by Augustine Fitzhugh
"at the corner of the Minnories. Neare Little Tower-
hill Anno Domony: 1683")

EARLY DAYS

Legend attributes the foundation of "modern" Mocha to Sheikh Ali bin Omar Shadhili, a locally famous hermit in the early fifteenth century. He acquired so great a reputation for his solitary and religious life that people came from all parts of the country to receive his teaching. He had established primitive living conditions for himself on the part of the coast where Mocha now stands.

One day a ship coming from the Indies and bound for Jedda dropped anchor in the crescent-shaped bay where the Sheikh lived. From its ship the crew could see a small hut and becoming curious most of its members went ashore. They found Sheikh Shadhili living in the hut and were given a gracious welcome by him. Shadhili, a devotee of coffee, attributed special powers to that beverage and served cups to his visitors. The Indians, who had never before drunk coffee, regarded it as a remedy for sickness and imagined that perhaps it would cure the merchant of their vessel who had recently taken ill. The Sheikh assured them that, with the help of his prayers and the use of coffee, their merchant would be relieved of his malady. He also advised them that it would be advantageous to them if their cargo of merchandise were unloaded for sale.

Shadhili then prophesied that one day there would rise a commercial town at the very point where the cargo was off-loaded and thereafter men from the Indies would return again and again to trade.

The next day when the merchant came ashore, a large number of Arabs had assembled to hear the wisdom and prophecies of the Sheikh. The merchant drank the coffee prepared for him and his health improved. The Arabs bought all the Indians' cargo and the ship's company returned, well pleased, to their homeland and spread abroad the news of Sheikh Shadhili.

Gradually more buildings were constructed around the Sheikh's hermitage by religious and commercially minded Arabs and further visits were received from Indian trading vessels until the collection of buildings grew into the size of a small village. As trade increased, so did the size of Mocha, and soon a sizeable port grew up which in later years was to receive ships from Suez, East Africa and the Malabar Coast and caravans from Aleppo, Damascus and Baghdad. Sheikh Shadhili died in 1418 or 1419.

The Arabs called the town El-Makha, meaning "situated on soft ground." There is a general agreement among the few writers who have visited Mocha that the town is not one of any great age, although Eyles Irwin, with characteristic uncertainty, says that it "is a city of great antiquity" and was the ancient capital of Arabia Felix. When Pieter Van den Broecke visited the port in 1616 he observed that it had been: "... only a fishermen's village 40 or 50 years ago. After the Turks took possession of the country it began gradually to flourish...."

Sir William Foster wrote:

.... Aden of old had been the secure haven where ships from India exchanged commodities for European...goods brought by sea from Suez by caravans overland. Gradually, however, Mocha--which was equally convenient for the Indian ships and far safer for those that came from Suez, besides being easier of access by land--had risen to favour, and Aden was in consequence declining in importance.

In 1763 Carsten Niebuhr was certain that Mocha was one of the new towns of the Tihama and not more than 400 years old, while Sir Home Popham, who was in Mocha in 1802, states that it had been established as the principal port of Yemen for nearly 500 years. John Ovington put the date of the foundation of the port at about 1500.

W.B. Harris took the more prevalent view in 1893:

Before the arrival in the Red Sea of the English and Portuguese traders it scarcely existed as a port at all.... It was not in fact until the fifteenth century A.D. that Mokha became a place of resort for ships and it owes its origin more to the discovery of coffee than to any advantages or attractions of its own.

Alexander Hamilton, who paid three visits to Mocha between 1712 and 1716, describes it as "a fishing town" and that it "...was built for an Emporium or Mart for the trade of India to the Red Sea and was mightily forwarded by the Persuasion of a Sheek who bore the character of a Saint amongst his countrymen." Abraham Parsons, quoting local inhabitants, writes in 1778 that Mocha was built on its present site because of the security afforded to shipping by the two points of land jutting into the sea.

Valentia in 1806 noted that the celebrated ancient Mart of Moosa was probably at Mocha "from the appropriate description handed down to us of its excellent anchorage on a sandy bottom. But if so it ceased to exist for many generations." He puts the date of foundation of the present port at a date later than 1400, quoting "local learned natives," while Renzo Manzoni at the end of the nineteenth century said that it was 800 years old; this may well have been a misprint for 500. A century ago Sir Robert Playfair gave the foundation date as about 1430.

As Sheikh Ali bin Omar Shadhili is credited with having founded Mocha, the village is often called Bandar Ali. William Revett, when speaking of the mosques of Mocha, writes: "...one of them is called Shaomer Shadhili.... Shadhili was the fyrst inventour for drynking of coffe, and therefore had in esteemation...."

Shadhili was buried in a spacious tomb, having nine clustered domes, inside the walls of the town. Revett noted the existence of the Shadhili "muscito" [mosque] and Henry Rooke and others agree that it was the principal one of the town. Sheikh Shadhili is still today the patron saint of Mocha. His son Sheikh Abdurrah also seems to have been regarded as a local saint, his tomb being situated near the South Fort.

The second saint of consequence connected with Mocha is Sheikh Mohammed bin Said al-Amudi. A native of Doan in the Hadhramaut, he went to live in Mocha to study theology and became much venerated for his learning and sanctity. At his large domed tomb, situated outside the walls of the town in the direction of the Jabbanah, an annual festival is still held.

Sheikh Taiyar, the only other locally venerated elder, was described by Niebuhr as a Mohammedan saint named Teiar. His tomb is to the east of the North Fort which now bears his name. A festival was held at this tomb annually on October 9 during Valentia's time and has probably continued annually to the present day on that date, which can be assumed as the traditional date of the saint's death.

SOME FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Early travelers' first impressions of the port seem to have been favorable, although there were some who were ill impressed. Jourdain in May, 1609, wrote: "This cittie of Moucha standeth hard by the waters side in a plaine sandye field...." Sir Henry Middleton in November of the next year stated briefly, "...seated close by the seaside in a salt sandy barren soyle."

Ovington at the end of the seventeenth century was more enthusiastic and wrote

that it yielded "a more beautiful prospect at sea than on shore." William Daniel, who approached from the north on September 13, 1700, was not impressed, but merely mentioned that he found there an illiterate German doctor. Hamilton, from the deck of the "Morning Star" in April, 1716, thought "that it had a fine aspect." Rooke, a hundred years after Ovington, found that it appeared "extremely beautiful as you approach it, being well built and standing close to the water's edge." James Bruce found that it made "an agreeable appearance from the sea" when he passed it in 1769 and Irwin wrote in 1777 that Mocha "displays a very handsome appearance towards the sea but its beauty will not bear close inspection."

Some twenty years later Valentia still found it "tolerably handsome as all the buildings are whitewashed.... The moment, however, that the traveler passes the gates these pleasing ideas are put to flight by the filth that abounds in every street, ..." After his voyage from Hodeida on April 30, 1839, Rochet d'Héricourt could summon little interest except to say that the sight of Mocha from the sea was agreeable to him.

By the end of the nineteenth century, favorable first impressions had almost vanished. "From a distance" wrote Harris in 1890 "...it still has the appearance of being a flourishing town, but on nearer approach one can see that...Mocha is today little more than a vast ruin."

Henri de Monfreid, who was very impressed with the town when approaching it in 1934, wrote:

The town soon rose up out of the haze with its slim minarets and palaces with their white frontages. The town has a grand air about it and doubtless must have appeared so to the merchant frigates when of old they came by way of the Cape in search of the fabulous coffee. But today all that is but a tragic illusion. Approaching the town one realised the sad truth. Like skeletons these tall houses reveal their emptiness and their great rooms once ornamented with rich lattice-work are left gaping open to the sky. Of these luxurious dwellings only the façades remain. It is said that a mysterious force still upholds everything that can help to give the impression of a town. It seems that in these ruins there is something which cannot die. Mocha did not die of old age; it was killed by Italian guns during the war with the Turks in 1911.

Harold Ingrams, who journeyed thither from Taizz in 1941, wrote "... it was a scene of desolation more depressing than any I had ever known."

BUILDINGS

Revett, who with Glascock was the first Englishman to visit Mocha, wrote in 1609 that it "consystes of some 6000 houses".... the buildings were "very much ruined for want of repairing." Sir Henry Middleton the next year estimated Mocha to be a third of the size of Taizz. Van den Broecke some nine years later observed that there were many large fine houses. He was taken to a "fine house" by the Governor. John Jourdain said that "...it hath very faire buildings (after their manner)...."

The straw or rush huts mentioned by Revett and Van den Broecke still existed in Niebuhr's day, a century and a half later, for he records that there were many dwellings which were not much better than the ordinary shacks of the Tihama. Hamilton, some 50 years before Niebuhr refers to: "the huts that the labouring people live in.... built of a few spars covered with branches and leaves of date trees." Valentia in 1806 described them more fully:

The lower order of Arabs live in huts composed of wickerwork covered on the inside with mats and sometimes on the outside with a little clay. The roofs are uniformly thatched. A small yard is fenced off in front of each house [similar to the "zeriba" of the Sudan?], but this is too small to admit a circulation of air.

In 1941 Ingrams noted the many huts at the back of the town. Rows of small gabled huts also appear on the waterfront in Olfert Dapper's panorama, but some of the buildings were imposing. Rooke described them as "very lofty" and "covered with a 'chinam' or stucco which gave a dazzling whiteness to them." Niebuhr noted: "... the houses inside the walls are partly of stone and some are very well built in the same style as those in Bir Al Asab...."

Travelers seem to have paid little attention to the materials used in the construction of the principal buildings of Mocha. Apart from references to the construction of the thatched, reed or matting huts, only passing mention is made of the materials used for houses and public buildings. Some writers have been more specific when referring to the forts and factories of the town. It can be assumed generally that the principal material used was the ubiquitous "mud-brick." Revett observed that three quarters of the 6000 "houses," which he estimated to comprise the town, were "... of canes covered of straw," while Jourdain, who was with Revett in Mocha in 1609, referred to some buildings as being "of lime and stone."

Nine years after this Van den Broecke noticed that some were of blue stone [free-stone, granite?] and others were "of rushes and clay." A hundred years later Jean de La Roque refers to houses built of "brick" and Parsons in 1778 observed that the houses "fronting the sea are very lofty built with stone..." Captain Hanson said they were "made of mud, brown washed" (1819), while Victor Fontainier in the 1830's saw "basaltic stones" [granite?] "for housebuilding" and "beautiful pieces of obsidian." Here our information ends.

It can only be concluded, on this scanty evidence, that as the port grew in importance and wealth the majority of the straw huts were replaced by mud-brick buildings and to a lesser extent by granite. Granite was probably imported by dhow from the neighboring Zoukar Island or from the mountains behind the coastal plains. Whatever its source, granite must have been expensive because of the fact that it could not be quarried locally and therefore it is likely that only the houses of the richer merchants and the governors were built of this material.

In DelaGarde-Jazier's panorama the buildings in general seem to contain three stories, particularly those on the waterfront. In 1716 Hamilton described them as "lofty" and stayed in one "which was four storeys high." A hundred years later Captain Hanson (1819) saw houses of up to six storeys. "The best houses," writes Valentia in 1806, "are all facing the sea and chiefly those to the north of the sea gate." From all accounts the port must, in its heyday, have presented an imposing spectacle from the sea. La Roque, writing in 1709, said that the houses contained only one or two storeys and had flat roofs. The uniform line of the latter was noticed by Valentia in 1806. The flat roofs appear general from Revett's visit onward and Irwin implies this when he describes the escape of a British captain from the English factory in 1770, "along the roofs of the houses to the sea side where he immediately took boat for his vessel." It can be supposed from this statement that the streets in Mocha were extremely narrow, a conjecture which is partly confirmed by reference to DelaGarde-Jazier's and Bellin's maps and by Hanson, who said that not only were they narrow but "indescribably dirty."

Jourdain noticed that because of the great heat at Mocha "the people make howses of caves [sic] on the tops of their houses to take the aire." The high temperature

also troubled La Roque: "I had made on the roof a little cabin covered with matting so as to admit more fresh air." These little penthouses are visible in DelaGarde-Jazier's print and similar structures can be seen in any Arab town of today. In 1806 Hamilton had some removed from the roof of the British factory because of the fire risk.

Information regarding the interiors of the houses themselves is scanty. Irwin wrote in 1777 that "the inside of its buildings is by no means answerable to the expectations which they raise." La Roque recorded: "I hired a house in the town.... a single yard separated the house of an elder Arab from ours, the two houses belonging to one owner--a big merchant from Surat. All the windows of this house were covered by venetian blinds which opened and closed in the manner of the country with one touch of the hand...."

It is probable that the house which the Frenchmen hired was the same one in which Valentia stayed a few years later in 1712. This dwelling was the best in Mocha and belonged to Said Sidi Mohammed Akil, a man of considerable property. When Valentia arrived he was met at the door by his host and taken from "one flight of narrow steps to another till at length we reached two very pleasant wooden rooms on the summit of the house, the sides of which were composed of venetian blinds." The rooms were carpeted and had English "elbow chairs" covered with cushions. The rooms below were of a good size and filled with many objects which the owner had picked up on his travels.

Of interiors in general Valentia wrote:

The windows are in general small and stuck into the wall in an irregular manner, closed with lattices [venetian blinds?] and sometimes opening into a wooden carved work balcony. In the upper apartments there is generally a range of circular windows above the others filled by a thin strata of a transparent stone which is found in veins in a mountain near Sana'a. None of these can be opened in consequence of which a through air is rare in their houses. The floors as well as the roofs of the larger houses are made of "chunam" which is sustained by beams with pieces of plank or thin sticks of wood laid across and close to each other. As they never use a level the floors are extremely uneven....[they]....never use chairs or tables but are always reclining on couches supported on every side by cushions. The internal construction of the houses is uniformly bad, passages are long and narrow and staircases so steep that it is frequently difficult to mount them.

Valentia does not mention whether internal walls were whitewashed, but they probably were in his time. Parsons in 1778 confirms that the houses in Mocha were whitewashed "without as well as within."

According to DelaGarde-Jazier's map there were about 13 streets running east and west and about 85 blocks of buildings. Bellin's map published less than thirty years later shows approximately 100 blocks, and as there is little similarity between the two plans of the town one is inclined to suspect the earlier one of being inaccurate. In this earlier map there is a wide street running north and south immediately behind the buildings on the waterfront. These buildings appear to have been warehouses. In Bellin's map this street appears narrower. This may well be due to additions made to the eastern portions of the warehouses and other buildings on the shoreline. A prominent feature of the latter map is a large, rambling, uneven building in the extreme northwest corner of the town. This also appears in the earlier map but, in the intervening thirty years or so, seems to have submitted to considerable additions. It was probably the most important of the town's warehouses.

Only two buildings shown by DelaGarde-Jazier appear to have retained exactly the

same shape on Bellin's map. These are in the southwestern quarter of the town immediately to the northeast of the French factory. One of these two constitutes the largest block of the town, has an irregular shape, and is separated from the building to the south of it only by a long and very narrow street. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify this block with any known building. It is possible that it could have been the coffee bazaar although a much smaller parallelogram-shaped block is marked by Bellin immediately to the north of No. 9 bastion and is called "Marché des herbes." Of the coffee bazaar in 1709, La Roque said that it was composed of two great courts with covered galleries. The Arabs brought their coffee crops to the Indian Banians there in large bags under the watchful eye of the customs officials and the Governor, the latter being seated in the center of the bazaar on a four-legged divan.

Mocha always seems to have had some ruined buildings and a process of rebuilding was no doubt continued during the period 1600-1850. The town had started to decay some half a century before Harris wrote in 1890:

....although the walls of the houses are still standing the roofs and floors have for the most part fallen in and Mokha is today little more than a vast ruin from which a few tall minarets still rise to tell of its former beauties. Where once the streets were filled with richly robed merchants, goats feed today on the coarse weeds.

Just prior to World War I, Wyman Bury found it to be "a dead-alive mouldering town." P.W.R. Petrie in 1932 wrote that "Mocha is a city of considerable size but in ruins. Its glory has departed."

Of Mocha in 1934 Henri de Monfreid wrote:

No houses have been repaired--only the building where the Amir lives and one other occupied by an Italian trader are still intact. In this labyrinth of crumbling walls, soldiers make their camps as they do out in the bush. As for the inhabitants they occupy the part of the town adjacent to the sea on the border of the palm groves. There they have created a village to their liking--huts made of matting or petrol tins. One feels that this great town is not the work of Arabs. It is another civilization which has built it. The Arabs are indifferent to the lamentable state of these crumbling palaces. They prefer their native huts through which the breeze can blow and lighten the burden of the sweltering hours....

And finally Ingrams brings the story of what A.J. Beneyton calls the "décadence de Mokha" to a pitiful close:

.... for we knew that for a hundred years not a load of rubble had been carted away. The houses had, so to speak, died in their tracks.... There was a little life at the back of the town where there were many huts and much modern filth.

CUSTOMS

European nations trading at Mocha always received special consideration in regard to customs dues. Van den Broecke made an arrangement at Mocha to pay not more than 3-1/2 per cent on incoming and outgoing merchandise. When at Sana'a he contracted to pay 3 per cent on incoming and outgoing goods: ".... to the great

amazement of the population there and of the Persian, Indian and other merchants who had to pay 16 per cent in customs dues."

By the end of the seventeenth century all European traders were paying 3 per cent and the "other merchants" seem to have fared better, since Ovington in 1694 records that their customs payments amounted to only 5 per cent. By 1709 customs duty for Europeans had risen to 5 per cent and "les Maures" (La Roque) had been forced again to pay at the very high rate of 15 per cent. However, in that year De Merveille in behalf of all French vessels had contracted with Salih bin Ali, Governor of Mocha, to pay only 2-1/4 per cent. The French East India Company made a further voyage to Mocha in 1711 and some time later Faqi Ahmed, Ali's successor, abrogated the treaty of 1709, re-establishing the tax of 5 per cent. This arbitrary action resulted in the bombardment of the town by DelaGarde-Jazier's squadron from India in 1737 and the subsequent settlement of the dispute.

"The Kings Customs are very easy," wrote Hamilton of the period 1712-16, "being but 3 per cent from Europeans and 5 per cent on Gentiles [sic]."

Fifty years later Niebuhr found that the Turks, Arabs and Indians were paying from 8-10 per cent while Europeans were still paying their 3 per cent. He makes no mention of any special concessions afforded to the French; in fact by the time of his visit they had ceased to make regular calls at the port. Both he and Ovington noted that, while Asiatics were obliged to take all incoming and outgoing goods to the customs house, Europeans were allowed to transport their merchandise direct to and from their factories. In spite of the falling off in France's trade, she seems to have retained her old customs privileges at least until the end of the eighteenth century.

The natives of India, Muscat and Jedda in 1778 were paying 5 per cent, while the English and local traders were still privileged to pay only 3 per cent in customs dues. A memorandum attached to the instructions given to Mr. Elliot by Sir Home Popham when the former accompanied Lamb and Pringle to Sana'a in 1802 begins: "All French traders in this port pay to the Government a duty of 2-1/4 per cent on exports and imports; while the English, in common with every other European nation, are charged 3 per cent on the same."

The 3 per cent charge to Europeans seems to have continued into almost the middle of the nineteenth century as Rochet d'Héricourt confirms, but he found that native traders were obliged to pay 10 per cent. He noted that the value of the Mocha trade at that time was 16 million francs annually.

Information regarding the customs houses themselves is very scanty. Ovington, presumably referring to non-European traders' goods, said that whatever is bought or sold by weight must go to the customs house for weighing. From this it can be supposed that the buildings contained the only officially recognized weighing apparatus. One can imagine from experience of other small Arabian seaboard towns that the customs house served other purposes as well as its primary one and that it was ill maintained and furnished and a place where corruption was rife. Its officials were probably appointed from among the governor's relatives whose sole object in life was to retire from public service as soon as possible after accumulating a fortune out of public funds.

The sanitary condition of the building probably left a lot to be desired since the Arabs could have had little idea of clearing up the refuse which must have accumulated from the perishable goods passing through the hands of the customs authorities. Only one of the two customs houses (immediately east of the jetty), which are shown in DelaGarde-Jazier's map, is marked by Bellin. On Bellin's map there is one less building in the north-south row between the French and English factories than DelaGarde-Jazier shows. This indicates that the two existing customs buildings had been joined under a single roof between 1737 and 1764.

Hamilton had little trouble with the customs authorities:

for they only desire to see the muster of goods and the quantity of goods in each parcel or bale and so cause some that they choose to be opened and if they find that the quantity agrees with the invoice given in, the remainder of the cargo is carried directly from the landing place to the warehouses without more trouble.

Customs officers seem at some periods to have been stationed at the sea wall gate, which in 1778 was the only gate through which goods or passengers could enter the town from the sea. In 1790 Louis de Grandpré described a large caravan-serai, which stood near the customs house. This was a large castellated building built around a courtyard containing a fountain.

FACTORIES

The following remarks concerning the European factories at Mocha are confined to their physical position and condition. The question of the establishing of trade relations by the various European countries is only mentioned when it is necessary for purposes of continuity.

Portuguese ships had sailed in the Red Sea from the early sixteenth century and were still trading at Mocha when Ovington, DelaGarde-Jazier, Niebuhr and Valentia made their visits. About 1720 several ships from Ostend were in the Mocha roads.

It is extremely difficult to find any mention by those who took part in the early English East India Company voyages to Mocha of a building or buildings where their trade goods were deposited. We may credit Joseph Salbanke, who sailed under Andrew Shilling in the "Royal Anne" with establishing the first English factory after receiving an Ottoman firman from Sana'a in July, 1618.

The Dutch East India Company's servants had of course traded at Mocha in 1616 and English ships under Sharpeigh (1609), Middleton (1610) and Saris (1612) had preceded them. A firman permitting the Dutch to trade at Mocha was issued by the Porte to the Imam of Sana'a in July, 1618. The French did not appear on the scene until 1709 and their trade at Mocha did not flourish for long after the middle of the century.

English. Neither Revett, Jourdain nor Couverte (1609) mention any building where they stayed in Mocha. However, Middleton, who was there the following year, went to the "English house." "After leaving the Aga's house" he writes, "we had a faire large house appointed neere the Seaside where we continued two days." It would be gratifying to the historian to conjecture that the site of this English house was the one occupied by the English factory or Residence for 300 years down to the end of the nineteenth century. The only shred of evidence for this supposition is that Middleton's "house" was "neere the seaside" as were all subsequent English factories.

Dapper (1680) shows an English factory in his panorama and Ovington writing of the same period observes: "Europeans are . . . privileged to lay their goods in their houses which they rent here without being constrained to bring them to the custom house." In the "Morning Star" in 1716 Hamilton recorded the existence of an English factory when he visited Mocha.

It is reasonable to assume that, when the English East India Company first received authority to trade regularly at Mocha and establish a factory, only one building was used for the purpose. However, by the end of the seventeenth century two were in use, one in the northwest quarter of the town and another in the southwest. The northern factory is shown in DelaGarde-Jazier's panorama and map and in the

latter it appears as an "L" shaped building with what seems to be an enclosed courtyard in the northwest corner. Irwin mentions that this factory had a yard during the second half of the eighteenth century. The southern factory appears by 1737 to have been used by the French, since on DelaGarde-Jazier's map the only factory in the southwestern quarter is marked as "Comptoir Français." Niebuhr indicated that more than one building was in use by the East India Company in 1763, but another town was also involved:

The English East India Company always has houses on hire at Mochha and Beit el-Faqih although it normally sends only one ship every two years to Mocha for coffee. Perhaps their commerce in the Red Sea does not produce a great profit but the agents of the East India Company make a considerable profit there.

Although Niebuhr met Francis Scott at Mocha and was well looked after by him, this Scotsman was not resident there but was visiting with the first of two vessels sent personally by the Governor of Bombay. The Honourable Company's agent at that time was a Banian.

Bellin's map shows only one English factory and that in the same position as the one shown by DelaGarde-Jazier in the northwest quarter, one block back from the waterfront. It then (1764) seems to have increased in size, indicating considerable additions to the building during the thirty years following the bombardment of Mocha in 1737. The original courtyard does not appear on Bellin's map in the northwest corner; the main block is square and the additions have been made to the east and northeast. One attachment on the east side of the main building appears to be a courtyard, a garden, or possibly the governor's stables to which Popham took so much objection forty years later.

When Irwin was at Mocha in 1778 the English were the only nation having a Resident there, in the person of Mr. Horseley, for whom the former had great admiration. Of the factory itself, some seven years previously Irwin had reported that it was uninhabited at that time except by supercargoes and captains during their short stay there. It was not then in the best state of repair and was "but little calculated to defence." He mentions that the factory had a "terrace," presumably the flat roof, and that there were gates into the factory, implying the existence of an entrance through a courtyard. The English East India Company, as well as the French and Dutch, still retained its factory in 1781. Rooke found it in better condition: "... a very large and handsome building in which I am comfortably housed." De Grandpré (1790) found the English factory to be a magnificent building capable of accommodating the staffs of five or six ships and well able to withstand a long siege. Lieutenant Austin Bissel, who arrived at Mocha in 1799, found Captain Samuel Wilson as the East India Company's Resident, but he gives us no indication of the position of the English factory.

By 1803 it appears that the factory was "in a very ruinous state" and Popham thought it "...desirable either to procure another house of equal size or obtain the Imam's permission for the building of a new one." Popham also recommended that the long disused Dutch factory be taken over and "with some addition" used by the British. He also deplored the existence of the public gaol and the governor's stables so near to the English factory. But he would have encountered considerable opposition: "...the Nawab of Surat, through his agents, has been industriously employed at the Court of Sunna....to prevent his....allowing us to have a fixed establishment at Mocha."

Valentia (1806), who during his stay took possession of the upper apartments of the factory, was keen to remove the governor's stables from near the English

factory (Popham also had complained of them) and convert the ground on which they stood, together with that on which stood an adjacent ruined house, into a garden. By this means the "comfort and respectability of the factory would be greatly increased." The ruins of the house in front of the factory kept the breeze off the lower stories. He described the factory as a large lofty building having most of the inconveniences of an Arab house.

Sheikh Tayib was the English agent with whom Fontainier (1835) lived; about 1840 Captain Dent seems to have taken over from him. Sheikh Tayib also received Wolff on November 15, 1836. Wolff did not have a very high opinion of him as an agent. The East India Company's sloop of war, "Euphrates" (Captain Rogers), was in the roads at the time and the "Hugh Lindsay" later took Botta, who was laid up with fever in the British factory, to Bombay. By the time that Rochet d'Héricourt visited Mocha in May, 1839, a new agent, Abderasoul, an Arab merchant, was acting as representative of both the French and the English. Rochet d'Héricourt also met Schimper in the port and a Captain Melville who was there with East India Company's despatches.

However, in spite of efforts to revive the trade at Mocha and to re-establish the crumbling factories, the fate of the town had already been sealed and English trade there was halfhearted and intermittent. British Residents or consular agents were appointed to the port from time to time during the nineteenth century, but England was never able to retard the decay of her factory and by the time that Ingrams visited the town in our own times no one seems to have been able to show him even the site where the British flag flew for nearly 300 years.

Dutch. Although Van den Broecke traded at Mocha in 1616, the Dutch were unable to obtain permission from the Porte to establish a factory there until July, 1618. Van den Broecke again sailed for Mocha in 1620, but was unable to enter the Red Sea. His merchandise was left at Aden and was transported in dhows to Mocha. Further Dutch ships sailing into the Red Sea in 1620 plundered craft from Portuguese India in the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The Turks took a serious view of this and a quarrel with the Dutch ensued. As a reprisal the stocks from the Dutch factory were confiscated and the staff imprisoned. The factor Willelm de Milde was never released from his captivity and the Dutch factory never really recovered from the effects of this dispute.

Seven years later an attempt was made to re-establish their former position and on April 1, 1628, Job Grijp sailed from Surat with a large cargo. He bought 40 bales of coffee at Mocha, but because of the local revolt of the Arabs against the Turks he found great difficulty in disposing of his own goods although he was able to hire a house at Mocha to serve as a factory. The next year the Dutch East India Company decided not to continue their policy of trying to establish a permanent factory in the town. An intermittent trade was however resumed and the first coffee consignment of any consequence was shipped to the Netherlands in 1663.

In August, 1696, the Company once more decided to establish a factory at Mocha. Dapper's panorama shows the Dutch factory in the northwest quarter of the town. It was again opened in 1708 and Hamilton found it operating in 1712 and 1716. The French reported it as flourishing during their early visits and disclosed that the Dutch were sending a ship of 700 tons each year for coffee and other merchandise. But some years later coffee was already being obtained from elsewhere and it was decided to close the Dutch factory again although the Dutch seem to have retained the same building at Mocha for their use throughout the eighteenth century. Dela-Garde-Jazier shows it as a square block one row back from the waterfront and one row from the westerly gate [unnamed] of the north wall. It appears on this map and on Bellin's as being separated from the English factory by an "L" shaped building. Niebuhr also was well looked after by the Dutch in 1763, but they appear not to have

received a visit from one of their own ships for two years. The factory, although not mentioned by Irwin in 1777, was still in existence in 1781, but by 1803 it had "been given up many years owing to the continual disputes they were involved in with this Government, it has remained empty..."

French. It is reasonable to assume that Briselaine and De la Lande in 1711 used the same building as a factory as that hired by De Merveille and Champloret in 1709. Hamilton (1716), however, does not mention the French factory, although he specifically mentions the English and Dutch. When DelaGarde-Jazier arrived in the roads in 1736 Sieur Ingrand was in charge of the French factory and one Mouchel was the custodian. In addition, there were two other Frenchmen, Courbesatre and Vandembourg, and an unnamed chaplain. There were also two Italian Fathers in the town, but the reason for their presence is not disclosed. The factory itself was an "L" shaped building in the southwest quarter one block to the north of the Sandal Gate and one block from the shore. By the time of Niebuhr's stay in Mocha there had been no French ship in the roads for seven years although the French still paid hire for their factory. Niebuhr marks no factories on his map, but Bellin marks the French building in a corresponding position to that of DelaGarde-Jazier.

French commerce did not thrive in the port for more than half a century, but occasional calls seem to have been made by French ships up to the close of the eighteenth century. The factory was still in existence in 1781 although Rooke gives no details about its business or condition. Eight years later De Grandpré met the French Naval Agent, M. de Moncrif, in the town. Fontainier (1835) found a French East India Company ship in the roads and met a Captain Low who was living in the house of the earlier French agent. In 1835 Rochet d'Héricourt met Captain Briston, who had come to collect a cargo of coffee in the brig "Mathilde." A certain Abderasoul was the French (and English) agent in Mocha at that time.

Danish. A factory is supposed to have existed at Mocha for a time during the seventeenth century. Ovington (1690) mentions Danish ships in the roads, but no English traveler has referred to the existence of one with the exception of Valentia (1806), who observed that the English factory was "far superior to the French or Danish factories which are rapidly falling into decay." It is possible that by a slip of the pen Valentia meant to write "Dutch" instead of "Danish"; the existence of the crumbling Dutch factory would certainly appear to be more probable.

Swedish. The Swedes are not known to have established a factory at Mocha, but an agent of the Swedish East India Company, C.H. Braad, visited Mocha in the middle of the eighteenth century and reported on trading prospects there.

American. The Americans first started trading to the Red Sea in 1803. Valentia (1806) found that the Imam had appointed an Arab as American agent and a Banian to transact their business. American ships came from Salem or Baltimore and on one occasion there were eleven American ships in the roads, ruining the trade by paying high prices. On one occasion on his return from the African coast Valentia was met by Dr. Pringle and a party of Americans who were all living in the English factory.

On American Independence Day the Americans obtained the Dola's permission to hoist their flag on their house. This "house" seems at that time to have been merely a hired residence, but, according to Valentia, Dr. Pringle asked the Dola whether an American factory would be established and if they had any treaty with the Imam. The Dola replied that they [in the Yemen] "knew not the Americans as a nation but American merchants at Mocha had promised to bring presents from their government to the Imam and to the Dola the following year and to establish an American factory and residence."

Later, Valentia actually speaks of a fire that consumed 30 or 40 "thatched houses" close to the American factory. "If the wind had blown from the south or

west," wrote Valentia, "the whole town would have been consumed." It seems then that the American factory, if and when it was established, was in the southwestern quarter of the town. Somalis pulled away from the fire boats which were beached on the outside of the wall. It is reasonable to assume therefore that the fire and the factory were adjacent to the Somali quarter, which was just outside the town wall on the shore to the south of the town. English sources do not tell us whether the American factory flourished or not.

GOVERNORATE

Middleton on the sixth voyage of the East India Company in 1610 was ".... received at the waterside by divers chiefs men and with Musicke brought to the Aga's house where were assembled all the chief men of the town.... The Governor's howse is close by the water's side and here by the same is the key [quay]." Two years later John Saris found that the Governor was Ider Aga, "a Greecian," who had replaced one Rejeb. Saris was also received with music but by the Captain of the Gallies and by "divers other principal men."

Saris was the first to record details of the building. "It was all of freestone with very faire and large staires" which led into a room spread with rich carpets. At the upper end of the room was a window "made after the fashion of our bay windows where a silk quilt was spread upon the floor" and two cushions of cloth of silver. Here may be the first reference to the Turkish style enclosed wooden balconies equipped with lattices or venetian blinds mentioned in later records.

Van den Broecke was taken to the Governor's palace "with drum and fife," but he does not mention anything about the building. La Roque gave a brief indication of its location saying that it was not very far removed from the waterfront gate of the town. DelaGarde-Jazier's map confirms this, showing the "Gouvernement" to be on the sea front just to the north of the wooden jetty. It was his ships which bombarded the Governor's house in 1737 and killed several people inside it. La Roque mentions the existence in the building of an audience chamber. Niebuhr shows the Governor's "residence" to be just north of the jetty on the sea front, while Bellin confirms Niebuhr's and DelaGarde-Jazier's position, but shows the building to have been enlarged. Irwin noted that: "....the furniture of his audience chamber was ornamented with a broken figured clock, a French thermometer and an English quadrant."

Parsons (1778) wrote that the Governor's house was situated in the great square of the town, and all previous evidence is confirmed by Valentia when he says that the residence of the Dola has "one front to the sea and another to a square." Capper says of the same period that the Governor's house stood in the middle of a large square and was built of rough stone and unburnt brick. In Valentia's time it was still the principal building of the town, large and lofty, but the apartment which he entered was small and the staircase "narrow and inconvenient [a change from Saris' day] with numerous doors at the landing places [landings] probably meant as a defence against sudden attack." Capper describes the stairs as "narrow and broken."

Valentia also gives us some information concerning the senior local government officials at Mocha. The appointment of the Dola, it seems, had been formerly filled by an Arab of high rank but at that time was filled by a slave. The "Second Officer of the town" was the "Baskateeb" [sic] or "Secretary of State." This post was held by an Arab considered as a licensed spy over the Dola. The third in the hierarchy was the judge (Cadi). These three men composed the Divan, where all public business was conducted and where only the Dola had the vote.

Sultan Hassan who was the Dola in Salt's time (1809) and the "Bas Katib" [sic]

were "more favourably inclined toward England than they appear to have been during our former residence at Mocha." A Circassian slave of Mohammed Ali, Emin Bey, was Dola when Fontainier visited in the 1830's and during the next decade Rochet d'Héricourt found Sherif Hamud as Governor. The Governor's house he describes as "beautiful" and constructed in the European style, having belonged to the French and English agent and the Arab merchant, Abderasoul.

De Monfreid in 1934 found in a large room on the third floor, the Governor Abdul Galil seated on an angarib (rope bed with wooden frame) covered with a Persian carpet. There were no windows on the ground floor, a common feature in Arab countries, and the narrow staircase which he mounted was set in the thickness of the wall and lit by narrow loopholes.

GOVERNOR'S STABLES

The Governor's stables have already been mentioned in connection with Popham's proposals for the rebuilding of the English factory. They are not mentioned by early travelers, but Irwin writes that: "The Governor's stud which consists of a number of choice horses are particularly drawn up in a square before his house. . . ." Rooke, who four years later was staying at the English factory, paid frequent visits to the stables: "The Governor has a large stud opposite the house where I live which affords me much pleasure. . . ."

Valentia, like Popham, did not take so kindly to the Dola's stables which he says were made of "wood and mats" and constituted a considerable fire risk to the British factory: ". . . the asses keep up an incessant braying, particularly if any noise in the night incites their attention. The horses are brought out into the open in the daytime."

Valentia saw some horses "of uncommon beauty." These were the Imam's property, being brought to Mocha for sale. Asses he found of two species: ones with a stripe of black down the shoulders and crossbands of black on the legs, others "like the Spanish and as fine a breed."

Of the horses themselves little is known. Rooke thought that the finest breed of Arabian horse was to be found in the Yemen, and Parsons considered them the "finest in Arabia." "On Fridays when the Governor paraded to the mosque it was usual to see two or three hundred horses of great value." In Mocha they were articles of luxury and used only in war or for parades. Rooke witnessed a tournament in the town during his visit. These exercises were probably similar to those depicted by Niebuhr in an engraving included in his "Travels in Arabia." Irwin also mentions the equestrian exercises and says that the Imam himself had an "indisputable property in all horse flesh."

THE GREAT SQUARE

Rooke saw a field day in the "Great Square," which presumably was a common feature of all such towns as Mocha. Ferão Mendez Pinto speaks of a market place to which he and his companions were taken in 1540 to be sold as slaves. It is likely that the Great Square had various locations through the centuries. As it was an open space within the town, buildings may have gradually encroached upon it by accident or by design, and the natural processes of decay or intended demolition of older buildings would have made a clearing in the town which gradually came to be used as a place of assembly and as a parade ground. La Roque described how 500-600 soldiers paraded in the Great Square each day between the hours of twelve and two o'clock. This "grande place" was "before the Governor's house" and it may well be that this had always been the great square, the equivalent of our

market place. There is a large open public space adjacent to the Imam's palace at San'a; this would lend support to the theory that the "great square" at Mocha had always been bounded by the Governor's house, the customs house and the jetty. DelaGarde-Jazier shows a large open space in the center of the town slightly to the east. By the time that Bellin's map was published nearly thirty years later that space had been built over and a Turkish cemetery, of which a large mosque formed the northern limit, is shown in the northeastern quarter. The open space shown by DelaGarde-Jazier is bounded on the north by a "grande mosquée" and it is quite likely, assuming DelaGarde-Jazier's map to be inaccurate, that the open space shown by the latter is in fact the same "cimetière des Turcs" shown by Bellin.

Valentia has some interesting observations on this subject. He wrote that the space included by the walls of Mocha was "in part not built upon." Again when discussing the thatched huts of the town: "These are crowded together while a large part of the space within the walls is left unoccupied." He says that the square was bounded by the Dola's residence, the official residence of the Bas Katib, an "extensive serai, built by the Turks during the time that Mocha was tributary to the Grand Seignior."

MOSQUES

Surprisingly little information is available concerning the mosques of the town, of which one twentieth century official account states: "...some of the mosques are still impressive with their lofty minarets, particularly that of Shadhili within and Amudi outside the walls..."

Revett was impressed by the "Shadhili and Amudi muscitos," which he referred to as a "church or house of devotion," but few other travelers seem to have thought them of sufficient moment to comment upon. Dapper's panorama shows three minarets in the town, but his narrative refers to several, while DelaGarde-Jazier's shows four, none of which can be identified in the former. The Shadhili was the principal mosque in Hamilton's time (1712), although "the steeples of five or six mosques raise their heads pretty high above the rest of the buildings." Some 75 years later Parsons noted "four large mosques and six smaller, the minarets of which greatly improved the view of the town from the sea, especially the great mosque which being elegantly built and very lofty serves as a landmark for the ships coming into the road."

Rooke indicates that there was only one minaret in being in 1781: "There are several handsome mosques in the city but that with the tower built in honor of Shadeli, who founded the town and brought the coffee plant into the neighbourhood, is the principal one." In 1806 Valentia noted only three minarets in the town.

Available maps and prints of the town do not differentiate between persons to whom the mosques were dedicated and it is difficult to locate the Shadhili mosque with accuracy. However, on the assumption that the spirit of the founder of the town would grace the largest mosque inside the walls, it is reasonable to assume that the "Grande Mosquée" marked in the northeastern quarter by both Bellin and DelaGarde-Jazier represents that dedicated to Shadhili. Bellin shows this "Mosquée et Tour qui sert de marque" one block due south of the fourth wall bastion from the northwest corner of the town. On this same map a further mosque is marked in the extreme southwest corner. This must correspond to the "Petite Mosquée" shown in the same position in DelaGarde-Jazier's print, but cannot be the El-Amudi mosque, second in importance to the Shadhili, since the former is outside the walls to the north. Dapper's panorama shows a large domed mosque with a short minaret in a central position on the waterfront. There seems to be no later mention

of such a mosque, but the tall, slender, three-tiered minaret surmounting another smaller building in the southwestern corner of the town indicates that the mosque shown by DelaGarde-Jazier and Bellin in that position was one of some importance although there is no trace of its name.

FEATURES OUTSIDE THE TOWN WALLS

Settlements. In accordance with Arab custom of those days, non-Arabs, except Europeans, were normally obliged to live apart from the main area of the town and consequently colonies of Jews, Armenians, Somalis and Indians grew up around Mocha; these foreigners lived in shacks at first, then possibly when they had accumulated sufficient money, in stone or mud-brick houses. In addition others, including the "King's slaves," had their own quarters in the suburbs, some parts of which were inhabited by laborers, poor artisans and a few gardeners.

Parsons (1778) says that the suburbs were "situated south of the city, there being a large void space between both." At that time, so he was told, there were more people living outside the city than within the walls. This was still so in Manzoni's time (1828). La Roque mentions that a considerable number of Armenians and Jews were housed outside the walls. The Armenians may have lived in the Bab el-Amudi quarter to the north of the town as there does not seem to have been any specific area allotted to them. The Somalis on the other hand lived in the area southwest of the town, while the Jewish quarter was further to the east. Both Jews and Somalis engaged in making and selling palm toddy. There also seems to have been a considerable amount of habitation to the east of the town on either side of the roads leading to the hills. Irwin visited one of the principal Banians of Mocha at his "country seat... about three miles from the town." This house was in a "wood of date trees," nowadays more romantically referred to as a palm grove.

In 1934 De Monfreid visited the "Quartier des Dankali," a small African colony established at the time of the slave trade. All Dankali property was confiscated by the Turks in 1916 as reprisals for the French arrest of the Dankali Loheita at Djibouti. The Imam reinstated them in 1919.

Cultivation. In the arid plain behind the port, palm trees must have existed for many hundreds of years and considerable effort must have been required to irrigate them from adjacent wells. Dapper's panorama shows palm groves extending north and south of the town in great profusion, and Ovington in 1694 wrote: "steaming up the Arabian coast before the arrival at Mocha is a seeming wood which is several date trees and gardens; to the northward of which is Mocha."

Hamilton in 1712 saw not a tree or shrub "but a few date trees." By the middle of the eighteenth century the groves, among which were many well-kept gardens, extended as far north as the area of the North Fort, along the track to Bait al-Faqih, and south beyond the southern extremity of the spit on which the South Fort is built. They did not reach the shore at any point. Bruce (1769) thought that the trees themselves were not as beautiful as those which he had seen in Egypt because here at Mocha they were "exposed to the violent south-westerns..." Some years later Irwin (1777) noted that there was:

not a tree within ken, that produces any fruit but the date, or herbage of any kind to support the cattle which are daily exposed for sale.... There is a wood of date trees which extends from the southern suburbs of Mocha for some miles towards the inland mountains. There is no mark of cultivation in this neighbourhood besides.

Parsons, writing about the same time, observed that there was no tree within ten miles except the date palm. Right up to the times when Rochet d'Héricourt (1839) and Manzoni (1878) visited the port, the palms seemed to exist in moderate profusion.

Now "the arid plain [is] relieved by scattered palm trees mainly to the south of the town" according to an official account and it is obvious that the area of cultivation and of date palms around Mocha has diminished at a rate equivalent to the town's decline in prosperity.

European Cemetery. During his brief stay in Mocha in 1941 Ingrams, perhaps remembering Hogarth's reference to Von Haven's death in "The Penetration of Arabia," wondered where the European cemetery was. Von Haven was buried there (Niebuhr calls it the Frankish cemetery) on the evening of May 26, 1763. The position and shape of the cemetery is well defined in DelaGarde-Jazier's and Bellin's maps, although Niebuhr has not troubled to locate it exactly. The cemetery, square in shape and apparently walled, was situated at the end of a track leading north through the Bab el-Amudi quarter from the el-Amudi gate and was situated just north of a line running due east from the North Fort. "Outside the gate [Bab el-Amudi]," wrote De Grandpré in 1789, "they bury the Christians who die there. Two tombs may be seen with an inscription announcing to travelers that they have been raised to the memory of two Captains of ships of commerce in treaty with Moka. In the rest of the area there are only the remains of some piles of bricks vaguely scattered around the terrain."

It should be an easy matter to rediscover this burial ground and to trace its old limits, although it would probably be quite impossible to identify any of the graves. Records must have been kept by the various East India Companies and Vice-Consuls of the burials of their servants and of visiting sailors in this cemetery. It would be interesting to peruse such records if they have been preserved. "North of the town" wrote Manzoni in 1878, "there is a large cemetery [he does not say Christian or otherwise] and a white mosque which encloses the tomb of its founder Sheikh Khundeli."

Salt Pans. The only other prominent feature outside the walls of Mocha were the salt pans hard by the shore a short distance to the south of the Somali quarter. There is no record easily available of the operation of this local industry, and it is probable that there was only sufficient salt produced for domestic consumption and perhaps a small coastal trade and some local caravan business with the interior. Aden would have produced its own salt and the northern areas of the Yemen would have been supplied from the rock-salt deposits at Salif and Jizan. DelaGarde-Jazier shows the "salines" as rectangular in shape and containing six beds of equal size. The right-hand margin cuts off most of the salt-pans shown on Bellin's map, but what can be seen appears irregular in shape and indicates beds of various shapes and sizes. Fontainier noted the "fairly extensive salt pans" in 1835 and they were still in existence forty years later during Manzoni's visit. The current Admiralty chart shows a considerable area of salt pans both to the north and to the south of the town.

DEFENSES

It is not surprising to find that considerable attention was paid during the prosperous era in Mocha to the town's defense. The town walls and forts were the principal buildings used for this purpose and a garrison was always maintained.

Walls. In 1609, according to Revett, Mocha had "neither walls, castle or fort." Middleton (1610) also confirms that Mocha was unwalled. Six years later it was still "large in extent not walled but open" (Van den Broecke, 1616). Dapper (1680)

states that the town was unwalled and Fitzhugh in his chart dated 1683 definitely states that the town had no wall. However, by 1709 the wall had been built and there is nothing in La Roque's narrative to suggest that it was newly built. It was about two miles long, "half stone, half mud mixed with straw," and seems to have been built during the Arab administration rather than the Turkish. The walls must then have been built sometime between 1683 and 1709. Hamilton (1712) said that "Shadeli. . . did even in his own lifetime see the town walled though but very weakly." This is an interesting observation.

The town always seems to have been garrisoned and the soldiers at some periods permanently manned its "towers," forts and bastions. The bastions referred to here are those forming part of the town wall. The wall had four main gates and although it does not always seem to have run along the western limit of the town, a fifth gate led on to the waterfront. Both Parsons and Valentia said that the sea washed against the west wall in high wind.

It is difficult to believe Rooke's statement that the walls were covered with white stucco, since it is unlikely that the Governor would have expended public money on such a project. Nowhere else are the walls referred to as being white and such utilitarian public works as defense walls would hardly be decorated. However, there is just a possibility that Rooke was correct because Dapper's panorama shows that the brick walls of the North Fort were faced with white plaster.

In Parson's time (1778) the town was "strongly walled quite round with hewn stone and the walls kept in good repair" by the King's Abyssinian slaves. There were "loopholes for arrows and musketry at about 5 feet distance from each other." He writes of a "castle" nearly in the middle of the sea wall near which is the only gate by which goods or passengers could enter from the sea. Here was a "station for the custom-house officers."

The only detailed account of the construction of the walls which has come down to us is that given by De Grandpré (1789). In his time the foot of the wall was "accessible all round." The foundations and the first course were of large stones. These stones were mixed with large pieces of coral, showing, according to De Grandpré, that materials were in short supply when the town was first built. Perhaps he meant to say that materials were in short supply when the walls were first built, as it has already been seen that the walls were not built until about 1700. The walls, he says, were 4, and in certain places only 3 feet high. The foundations and the first course were surmounted by "masonry" 4 feet thick of bricks which were 15 or 18 inches high. On top of this brickwork was built a parapet one brick thick with holes for the insertion of rifle muzzles. "The walls," wrote De Grandpré, "were all so flimsy that at each shower of rain some of them crumbled to the ground."

Twenty years later Valentia noted that the sea wall was "not above 16 feet high" although the landward walls were in some places 30 feet in height. "In every part," says Valentia, "it is too thin to resist a cannon ball." He continues:

The walls on the landside are sufficient defence against Wahabees who always storm a town by means of their cavalry and the numerous round towers have a very imposing effect on people who are totally ignorant of the use of artillery. Although under constant alarm from the Wahabee, they have neglected to repair the fortifications and seem to consider the many small doors nearly on the level of the ground as affording no facility of entrance to the enemy. Near the sea gate a part of the wall has actually fallen down and has been repaired with a few boards and matting.

Later in the century (1842) Rochet d'Héricourt sneered at the town's defenses: "...the crenellated wall and ridiculous towers furnished with inoffensive canons." Manzoni (1875), however, found that the walls were actually still in good repair in several places. When De Monfreid saw them in 1934 he found them a "chaos of rubble," although there were still some cannon in place on the walls.

In 1777 Irwin's panorama shows no sea wall and maps available to us dated prior to this show none--it is quite clearly absent from Niebuhr's and Bellin's maps (1763-1764). Parsons' (1778) words, "walled quite round," may thus refer only to the landward sides of the town. The first positive mention of the sea wall is by Valentia (1806) and it is therefore probable that the sea wall was built much later than the landward ones, perhaps towards the end of the eighteenth century, although it was already falling into disrepair in 1806.

Bastions. The town wall contained ten bastions which for the sake of convenience may be numbered 1-10, starting at the west end of the north wall. Niebuhr shows them all as being semicircular and no details of their inner works are given. As Niebuhr's map was reproduced from one which he obtained from an English acquaintance in Mocha and thus was not drawn up by him as a result of personal survey or observation, it is not surprising to find that his map of the port lacked the detail which is given in maps or prints of the other towns which he visited. A comparison of the shape of the bastions as shown by DelaGarde-Jazier and Bellin may be tabulated as follows:

<u>No.</u>	<u>DelaGarde-Jazier (1737)</u>	<u>Bellin (1764)</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1	Rectangular.	Rectangular.	North Shore.
2	Three-quarter circular. Opening facing south.	Circular, no opening.	
3	Three-quarter circular. Opening facing south.	Semicircular, no opening.	
4	U-shaped with parallel sides.	Semicircular, walled in on south side. Irregular, enclosing large area having 5 straight walls with semicircular wall at northeast corner of bastion. Open to the southwest.	Northeast corner.
5	U-shaped with diverging sides.	Unrecorded.	
6	Two semicircular walls facing east joined by straight wall. Area enclosed by right-angled walls. Opening to northwest.	Similar to DelaGarde-Jazier.	
7	Two semicircular walls facing southeast joined by a straight wall running northeast and southwest. Area enclosed by 2 right angled walls. Large opening to the northwest.	Similar to DelaGarde-Jazier except that the northern of the 2 "bulges" is smaller in size than the southern and is more irregular in shape.	

No.	DelaGarde-Jazier (1737)	Bellin (1764)	Remarks
8	U-shaped with parallel sides.	Rectangular except that southeast corner has a semicircular "bulge."	Southeast corner.
9	D-shaped with opening to north.	Rectangular except that two south corners are rounded.	
9A	Unrecorded.	Square.	
10	Three-quarter circular with opening to northwest.	Circular.	South Shore.

De Grandpré (1789) noted that:

This feeble wall is sustained every 200 fathoms by large towers resembling the forts already mentioned and all as defective. Those which flank the Sacred Gate are the only ones worth anything, they are solid enough and roofed over and even have some quarters built inside them and are perhaps the only ones which would stand up to more than one cannon shot.

Gates. The main bastions flanked, or were adjacent to, the four landward gates of the town and they would doubtless have taken the names of the gates which they guarded. There is no record of any other bastions being named with the exception of the large work east of the Banian Gate [Bab Surur, Admiralty Chart, 1882], which was, at least after mid-eighteenth century, called the Malta Fort.

The way out of Mocha to the north led through the Bab el-Amudi to Bait el-Faqih. This coastal track which passed through the Bab el-Amudi quarter outside the walls was joined on the fringe of the palms by another track which gave access to Bait el-Faqih from the main gate of the town, called Bab el-Schadeli (Niebuhr), or to use DelaGarde-Jazier's interpretation, "Chatilly." De Grandpré (1789) called this the Sacred Gate. The track from Musa divided into two in the palm groves and led into the town, through the houses outside the walls, at the Bab el-Shadhili, the eastern gate, and the Bab el-Sogair (Niebuhr), or Bab Surur (Admiralty Chart, 1882), the southeastern. DelaGarde-Jazier calls this latter the "Porte des Baignans," an appropriate name in a town so closely connected with the trade of India. The fourth gate, Bab el-Sandal, in the southern section of the wall near the shore led to the Somali quarter.

A fifth gate existed on the shore. De Merveille was received by the Amir al-Bahr near this gate and conducted to the Governor's palace which was "not very far removed." This gate is one of the few buildings which show up well on DelaGarde-Jazier's panorama and it is depicted as being flanked by two high circular bastions. Both Niebuhr and DelaGarde-Jazier place it opposite the jetty and according to the former it was named Bab el-Sahhel [Bab Sahhil, Admiralty Chart, 1882]. In 1898 Alfred Bardey counted seven gates.

Ditch. There was no ditch or earthworks around the walls in La Roque's time, but Niebuhr records that one Governor had a ditch dug around the town [unfortunately he gives no dates], which became filled in. That Governor again began to fortify the town and made it known that he wished to make himself independent of central authority. He was, however, severely dealt with and thrown into gaol for

his actions. Since that incident, recorded Niebuhr, "the holder of that lucrative post does not usually retain it for longer than two or three years." De Grandpré confirms that there was no ditch in 1789.

North and South Forts. A prominent feature of Mocha was the pair of forts flanking the seaward side of the town. That to the north called Qal'a Taiyar, after a Mohammedan saint who is buried quite near, was the greater of the two. It appears to have derived its name from Sheikh Taiyar's tomb, which was adjacent to the peninsula on which the fort stands. Otherwise it may have derived from the Arabic word meaning "impregnable." DelaGarde-Jazier shows on his map a building situated near the south shore of this peninsula some distance east of the fort. It is probable that the building thus signified was the tomb of Sheikh Taiyar. The tomb of Abdurrah, one of the sons of the founder of Mocha, Sheikh Shadhili, was situated to the south of the town and the South Fort which was not far distant from the tomb was consequently called Qal'a Abdurrah (DelaGarde Jazier's Abdelrout). DelaGarde-Jazier estimated the size of the island, at whose northwestern extremity this fort is situated, to be 1500 by 200 meters.

If the "little round castle" of Van den Broecke designates the North Fort, the date of the erection of Qal'a Taiyar can be accurately determined. Qal'a Abdurrah is not mentioned by the Dutchman: it had, however, been built by Dapper's time (1680) but it was then square in shape. La Roque notes the fort's existence in his record of De Merveille's visit in 1709. Van den Broecke says that the "little round castle" was built "at the time when Sir Henry Middleton dominated Mocha," that is to say, in the early months of 1611. Middleton himself says that "it was ruined at our first coming thither but since pulled down to the ground and new builded." There is, however, a slight element of doubt about the identification of the North Fort by Van den Broecke, as he place it "at the north end of the town," not mentioning specifically whether it was situated at the end of the northern peninsula or at the northern limit of the town buildings. Neither does he say whether the "castle" was in fact at the water's edge. Circular towers, forts or blockhouses were common sights along the waterfronts of Arabian ports of those and later days, and it may indeed have been one of these to which he was referring.

Dapper's panorama, which appears to incorporate an amount of conjecture, shows what one can only assume to be Qal'a Taiyar as a rectangular building, almost square, with sloping walls surmounted by a parapet containing four embrasures on the east and west sides and three on the north and south. This picture shows the fort to have been built of mud-brick covered with white plaster and to have measured approximately 34 feet square and 16 feet high. In this panorama the fort is called the harbor fort. This description is far removed from that of Van den Broecke, who states that the fort (the little round castle) was round and built of blue freestone. La Roque gives no details of the fort except to imply that both Qal'a Taiyar and Qal'a Abdurrah existed and were flying the Yemeni flag. Dapper says that the South Fort was square and strongly defended.

DelaGarde-Jazier during his visit to Mocha had much to do with both forts and it is not surprising therefore that he provides the most details about them. He would have razed the Qal'a Taiyar but was thwarted by a contrary wind. It was, however, bombarded by the "Compte de Maurepas" and the "St. Pierre" on February 2, 1737, but the shots fell short. The Arabs replied with fire from both the Qal'a Taiyar and Qal'a Abdurrah. DelaGarde-Jazier soon decided to abandon the idea of taking the northern fort and to concentrate on the southern, which, although further from Mocha itself than the former, thus making the town more difficult of access, was easier to take and could command the roadstead and the entrance to the harbor through the southern channel; this meant that the holder of the South Fort could stop any help reaching the town by sea. The French landed

by moonlight on the night of February 14-15. Riflemen scaled the ramparts, dislodged the Arabs from the embrasured parapet and battered down the door of the fort.

The floor of Qal'a Abdurrah they found to be only six feet in diameter with walls seven feet thick pierced with tall loopholes. Its height is quoted as being 14 feet. The fort itself was circular with the door facing landwards in a southeasterly direction. It was situated at the northern extremity of the spit of land jutting out into the sea from south of the town. In DelaGarde-Jazier's panorama, the South Fort is shown as having a small square tower on its north side; this is not marked on his map. He had a rampart thrown up on the landward side of the fort from shore to shore, which seems to have taken the form of an earthwork and a stockade which bore eight embrasures. The opening of this stockade led directly to the door of the fort. By Niebuhr's time this rampart seems to have disappeared, Bellin shows no trace of it on his map and neither he nor Niebuhr gives any indication of there being a small square tower in this fort.

Qal'a Taiyar, although reported as "round" by Van den Broecke, drawn as square in Dapper's panorama, and described as being of a circular form by Niebuhr, is shown by DelaGarde-Jazier to be D-shaped with the straight wall containing the door facing east. There is a short extension of this straight wall to the south. DelaGarde-Jazier's print shows that a small square tower existed in the southeast corner of this fort. On Bellin's map the shape of the main part of the fort is the same, but the southward extension is missing and instead there is a rectangular extension to the east at right angles to the east wall immediately south of the doorway. Both Niebuhr and DelaGarde-Jazier record embrasures on the fort and the former gives the impression that it was built upon a mound, although it may be that some small earthworks or a bund was thrown up around the base of the walls.

"How much were these Arabian engineers mistaken in their ideas of fortification," wrote Niebuhr who sneered at the defenses of Mocha. Bruce, six years later, was equally cynical: "Upon each of the points is a small fort; the town is in the middle; and, if attacked by an enemy these two forts are so detached that they might be made of more use to annoy the town than they ever could to defend the town." Some later travelers seem to have disregarded the forts entirely, although Parsons found the "circular castles strongly built of stone," one containing six 24-pounders and the other six 12-pounders. Rooke barely noticed them in 1781.

De Grandpré (1789) observed that they were "inferior types of circular redoubts" with foundations of large blocks of granite. The embrasures were of large stones or lumps of coral but scarcely two feet high. "One cannon shot," he wrote, "would pulverise the forts." Each fort flew the Yemeni flag (the same as that used today) every Friday. Valentia also thought that "an English man-of-war would level either [fort] to the ground with a single broadside." Count Noé (1800) observed both forts to be in a poor state, armed with old artillery pieces more dangerous to the gunners than the enemy. Defenders of the North Fort on December 2, 1820, shut themselves in and threw 32 lb. shot onto the heads of a landing party from H. M. S. "Topaz." At that time the North Fort mounted ten guns and was made of sun-dried bricks. By the 1850's (Playfair) they were both in ruins, ruins visible to Bardey in 1898.

Garrison. Revett observed that there was no "garde of soldiers" in Mocha in 1609, although Jourdain, who joined him there a little later in the same year, noted that: "There are not in the towne above 40 Turks in all and yet they keep the countrie in great subjection." The inhabitants told Revett that the "two prof-fetts.... remaineth in the city" and stood guard over Mocha, thus dispensing with

the need for a garrison. Jourdain also commented upon the unpreparedness of the town against attack: "I could perceive no defence in the towne only three brasse peeces mounted at the sea side before the Captain of the Gallies howse."

There were, however, two "gallies" at the water's edge, one of which was out of commission while the other "hath some six peeces of brasse." When received by the Captain of the Gallies, Saris saw that "divers peeces were shot out of the castle" [North Fort?]. Saris says that the two gallies were "stout" with "25 oars on each side." He does not mention "ordnance." Middleton, two years previously, had noticed "adjoining the key is a platform whereon are planted some doozen of Brasse peeces." About 1620 gunfire from the rooftops of the town and from the ships in the harbor beat off an attack upon the Turks at Mocha by the Imam al-Mueiyad billah Muhammad. The Turkish garrison must have increased rapidly in the seven years following Jourdain's visit, for in 1616 the Turkish governor of Mocha commanded more than 300 troops stationed in the town in addition to a number of Arab soldiers. By 1680 more attention seems to have been paid to the provision of ordnance, since there were many guns mounted in the shore batteries and the Qal'a Taiyar mounted at least four cannon.

When the Frenchmen went ashore in 1709 there were 200 Yemeni soldiers on the quayside, but there were from 500-600 in the town at that time, all of whom paraded at midday every day for the purpose of conducting the Governor to the mosque--a custom practised in Sana'a by the Imam Yahya until his death in 1948. At the beginning of the eighteenth century several of the wall bastions were equipped with cannon. Each wall bastion was manned at night with soldiers, who during the day were stationed at the harbor and in the bazaar to keep order. The Qal'a Taiyar and Qal'a Abdurrab were both quickly manned when the French squadron arrived in 1736 and they were both used later to fire at the French ships. DelaGarde-Jazier found eleven 12-pounder and a 6-pounder cannon in Qal'a Abdurrab, all in good condition, 180 cannon balls of all calibers, and a good stock of powder. There were also guns in shore batteries along the waterfront. There were few soldiers in Mocha when the French arrived, but after Faqi Ahmed had sent to the surrounding countryside for assistance he managed to muster about 4000 Arab troops and a further 4000 men who could bear arms if required.

The North and South Forts continued to be equipped with guns in Niebuhr's, Irwin's and Parsons' time, but in 1777 the wall bastions were devoid of ordnance, although the shore battery continued to operate whenever necessary. Parsons, a few years before De Grandpré, observed a battery of 12 guns about one quarter mile from the north end of the town pointing due west and at the south end a "round castle" with twelve embrasures and six guns mounted. In Hamilton's time (1712) the governor was able to produce 500 cavalry and foot-soldiers to escort a prisoner outside the Shadhili gate.

De Grandpré (1789) thought that the town could be taken with cavalry along with three or four cannon shots to make a breach in the walls. Valentia in 1806 found the town's defenses quite useless. He observed "two other batteries within the town" besides the North and South Forts in a defenseless state. "The guns in all these places are" he declared, "useless except to return a salute. When the Arabs purchased them from the infidels, they considered them as belonging to the devil and they therefore enlarged the touch holes to make them holy." Captain Lumley from the "Topaz" in 1820 put 400 shots into the walls without making a breach. Three of these seaward batteries were named by Tanner (1820) as Bunda, Five-Gun and North Gate.

The garrison itself at that time consisted of about 80 horsemen and 200 matchlockmen, who received regular pay of 2.50 Maria Theresa dollars per month. Out of this sum they had to provide their own arms, powder and ball. They were

an undisciplined lot, not bad marksmen but they took a long time to take aim.

In 1819 Lieutenant Domicetti was attacked by some of the local inhabitants and the following year Captain Bruce landed from H.M.S. "Topaz" with a handful of men and exacted a treaty from Imam Mehdi. Fontainier (1835) was impressed with the military air of the town and found more soldiers there than in Hodeida. Rochet d'Héricourt (1839) estimated that the town could be taken and garrisoned by 200 European soldiers.

Harris at the end of the nineteenth century said that only a few Turkish soldiers were stationed in the town. After the final Turkish withdrawal in 1919 the Amir of Mocha, according to Dr. Petrie, kept a bodyguard of about thirty Yemeni troops which also served as the garrison.

Ingrams brought the story of the long departed military prestige of the town to a close when in 1941 he observed that not even the old guns, which had fallen from the crumbling bastions into the débris below, had been cleared away from the rubble.

HARBOR

The harbor is one of the features of Mocha that has received much detailed attention from travelers. This is hardly surprising, since the majority of those who have recorded their experiences of the port have been seafaring men, either professional or amateur, and they have left us considerable information regarding the soundings which they took. Technical details are not dealt with here, but comparisons may be made, by those particularly interested, among the charts of Fitzhugh (1683), DelaGarde-Jazier (1737), Niebuhr (1763), Bellin (1764), and the current Admiralty Chart and Red Sea Pilot. It will be sufficient to note for the moment that conditions in the harbor today are in no way comparable to those in 1609 when Robert Couverte noted: "...Mockoo, some six leagues, where there is a good road to anchor in and you may ride at fourteen fathoms water."

Saris, on the Eighth Voyage (1612), found the road: "...very open and dangerous with very shoaled water a mile off the town." Van den Broecke (1616) found it a: "passably good roadstead. There is anchorage at four, five, six or seven fathoms on a sandy bottom." In 1690, Ovington, whose account of Mocha was based on report, advised sailors not to:

....come into less than 7 Fathom, nearer are so many dangerous Overfalls When the Southernmost Mosque is once brought to bear by S., the Ships may luff up or bear into the Road and Anchor in 4, 5, 6, or 7 Fathom. Before this Road lies a long Ridge of Sands which has seldom above 2 Fathom water.

La Roque (1709) found that the harbor would only serve the "small boats" and Hamilton a few years later could only say that the "bay" was "not very commodious for shipping."

The charts of both DelaGarde-Jazier (1737) and Bellin (1764) show a small inlet just south of the south wall of the town, north of the Somali quarter. This, while not shown by Niebuhr or the current Admiralty chart, is quite clearly illustrated in Valentia's print entitled "View of the south quarter of Mocha" (reproduced by Manzoni with, and by Chrichton without, acknowledgement). The Admiralty chart and those of Niebuhr or Fitzhugh show this inlet, but Valentia infers that this inlet was the mouth of a wadi reaching the sea by the south wall:

....and the gully in which the river of Moosa has occasionally reached the

sea is filled with an accumulation of filth.... Once indeed it found its way to Mocha where it carried away a considerable part of the Jew's town which is built on its usually unfrequented bed.

This inlet should not be confused with the "Wadi el-Kabir" (Manzoni) or the Khor Umbaya lagoon of the Admiralty chart.

Bruce, who was not a professional sailor, noted in 1769 that: "The ground for an anchorage is of the very best kind sand without coral which chafes the cables all over the Red Sea."

The "two low points of land which project from the shore so as to form a bay," wrote Parsons in 1778, "only shelters ships which can anchor a mile off shore." Larger ships "further out" were exposed as in an open road. Valentia thirty years later saw Captain Keys in the "Antelope" and Captain Vashon in the "Fox" anchor about four miles off shore in a little more than four fathoms. They were obliged to "keep out to avoid a dangerous shoal till the great mosque bore E. by S. when we stood right for the town." The swell, noted Valentia, was much less when the wind blew from the south.

De Grandpré (1789), an "Officier de la Marine Française," took careful note of his approach: "one cannot approach [from the south] at less than 13 fathoms because of the sand banks.... continue northward until you see the.... minaret of the big mosque (east by south-east)."

Dr. Petrie in 1931 had to anchor 1-1/2 miles off shore and sail to the town by dhow. "Even then," he wrote, "we were not quite ashore for the dhow could only get within fifteen yards of land and one by one we were carried ashore in basket chairs."

The latest official account of the port (1946) states that there is unprotected anchorage about 1-1/2 miles offshore up to four fathoms and small craft find anchorage in 7-10 feet of water within the bay about 560 yards off the town. The water-front is encumbered by shoals and flats except at the south end where a channel with three feet of water leads south past the town wall into Khor Umbaya lagoon.

Lighthouse. A pharos existed recently at Mocha for at least twenty years and a Mr. Cocolos tended it from 1914-34. Situated at the South Fort, it was made of an iron framework, the upper part of which was painted with red and white horizontal bands. It was replaced by the erection of a lighthouse by the Italians on Fatma Island.

Jetty. From the earliest times the jetty seems to have occupied the same position as that marked on the current Admiralty chart. Middleton in 1610 wrote: "... and here by the same [Governor's house] is a key or Bridge which shooteth a pretty distance into the sea to which key all boates belonging to any shipping are enjoined to land for fear of stealing of the customs." Fitzhugh (1683) tells us of "a key or mould where all goods is landed and shipped."

DelaGarde-Jazier's map shows this wooden jetty, and Valentia found that the town gates were shut when he arrived and "landing at the pier was out of the question.... we got in at a little wicket which is open till eleven."

In earlier times it seems to have been a pretty substantial erection. Dapper's panorama (1680) shows the jetty to have been a long one, containing at the seaward end three cannons. Also lodged on its northern side were some small huts. By the time of Valentia's visit (1806) the wooden jetty seems to have disappeared and a stone pier to have taken its place. (Cf. Valentia's engraving, "View from the factory at Mocha"). De Grandpré had noted the existence of a jetty in 1790.

The date of the construction of the stone jetty of Valentia's engraving may be ascertained with a measure of accuracy, since Parsons (1778) has left some details about it:

....from this gate runs out a pier 150 yards due west which is built of stone and strongly supported at the end and sides by planks and piles and is very serviceable for loading and unloading goods. It was constructed by Captain Watson, late superintendent of the Bombay Marine, about 20 years since. Before this time all goods were landed and shipped from the beach.

Bellin's map shows two piers extending from each end of the sea wall across the flats to low-water mark "pour empêcher le passage." They may have been minor defense works. A bridge from the town seems to have been built in Dela-Garde-Jazier's time connecting it to the island where the South Fort was situated --"faite par les Arabes pour secourir le fort."

INHABITANTS

It is unfortunate that all travellers were not inclined to record their estimates of the population of Mocha. If information of this sort had come down to us, a good indication of the rise and fall of the prosperity of the port might be ascertained. Fortunately, however, we do possess some scattered references.

Revett (1609) was impressed with the "peaceableness of this peopell which are very affabell...." A man could pass "without molestation day and night." In the same year Jourdain found the town "very populous as well of Arab as of strangers merchants and especially Bananes of Guzaratt, Dabull, Dieu, Chaule, Bazim, Daman and Suida as also of Ormu and Muscat with all the coast of Melinda."

Middleton, the following year, also found Mocha "very populous," and Van den Broecke wrote six years later:

It is fairly well populated with various nationalities. The Governor is a Turk and so are most of his soldiers....more than 3000 Banians, who are merchants, silversmiths, money changers and artisans and cunning Jews, Indians, Persians and Armenians.

La Roque (1709) also mentions "some Armenians and many Jews." The 10,000 Muslims he found "very religious and extremely polite."

The prosperity of the port during the eighteenth century seems to have attracted large numbers of vagrants, for Hamilton found an "abundance of beggars" there in 1712; and in 1763 Niebuhr found some 600-700 Banians, Rajputs "and other Indians," some in commerce, others engaged in manual labor.

European renegades were a common sight in the town in the eighteenth century and they are mentioned by most travelers. Parsons met there a Scotsman called Campbell in 1778. Some twenty years previously Campbell had been a gunner aboard an English ship trading to Mocha. He had killed a sailor in the course of a quarrel and his captain threatened to have him hanged on their return to Bombay. Campbell deserted to Mocha and became a Muslim. He was immediately employed by the Imam in his artillery depot. In Parsons' time he styled himself "Captain-General of the Ordnance in the Kingdom of Senna" [Sana'a]. The visitor found him well behaved and anxious to render any service to the English; he was always on the jetty to welcome English sailors.

Valentia (1806) estimated that there were 5000 people living within the walls; Fontainier (1835) put the total population at 20,000, while Rochet d'Héricourt (1839) thought it to be only 4000 or 5000. Toward the beginning of the present century, Beneyton (1909-12) estimated a mere 1000.

DECLINE OF THE PORT

Mocha had perhaps reached its peak of prosperity during the first half of the seventeenth century. When Van den Broecke was there in 1616 there were "more than thirty Indian, Persian and Arab ships large and small..." in the roadstead. He writes of the great prosperity of the town and believed the port had "begun to flourish all the more" in 1568 after the Turks had taken possession of it because "the great King's ship, which comes every year from Suwees with valuable merchandise runs into great danger in passing Bab-el-Mandeb before coming to Aden where most important trading was done. So now Mocha gives the best revenue in the country."

Ovington, writing at the end of the century, said that the consequences of the "Mogul war" (1687) were "so severe among the poor Moor merchants and such a loss to the innocent Indians that traded thither it has quite (in a manner) destroyed the traffic of this port and driven the trade to several other ports in this sea." It was "the utter ruin of the many Indian, Turk and Arab merchants." The English sailors, writes Ovington, seeing the lascars sooner give up their goods than fight, turned pirate. In 1691 they robbed merchants trading between Surat and Mocha of £120,000 and they had a similar success in the following year. Ovington also says that the goods of the Mocha merchants during the Mogul war which were bound for Surat were seized there. The trade was consequently removed to Loheia, "which is now grown into the credit which Mocha had, and draws to it both the adjacent merchants and the ships from India and other parts."

Concerning the cause of the decline of the port, C. F. Beckingham, an authority on the Dutch East India Company records, writes: "By 1695, coffee was a commodity of increasing importance and experiments were being made with growing it in Java. They [the Javanese] succeeded so rapidly and completely that Mocha had no chance to regain its old importance in the eastern trade."

Commerce at Mocha may well have revived in the first half of the eighteenth century with the establishment of the French factory and the revival of some of the Dutch trade, and Hamilton found it "a place of good trade" in 1716. However, Rooke (1781) realized that it had "much declined here of late years since Europe has been supplied with coffee from the West [sic] Indies," and Irwin four years previously had stated that "The East India Company were accustomed to send a ship here every season, but now coffee is transported on country bottoms to Bombay from whence our Indiamen convey it to Europe."

When Valentia visited Mocha in the early years of the nineteenth century, the whole countryside had suffered from the depredations of the Wahabis. The coffee trade during the first ten years of the century had only amounted to some 1700 bales per annum and in 1819 coffee was 150 per cent dearer at Mocha than in Java (Hanson).

Already English eyes were turning toward Aden as a suitable trading port. Valentia said that it was the only good seaport in Arabia Felix. It had the great advantage over every other Arabian harbor within the Red Sea in that that it could be quitted at all seasons, while it was not possible to pass through Bab-el-Mandeb during the southwesterly monsoon. Aden was also better situated to trade with Berbera, and the greater part of the gum and myrrh of the Somalis was then sent to Aden in their own vessels. Furthermore, the coffee-producing country at this time was gradually falling into the hands of the Sherif of Abu Arish, who followed the Wahabi cause, and who had opened up Loheia as the outlet for this trade.

The harbor, always a difficult one in which to anchor inshore, was rapidly silting up so that even the ocean-going dhows could not anchor there, and to make matters worse, in 1804 and 1805 the American ships continually jettisoned their

ballast inside the harbor. Dr. Pringle complained to the Dola about this, explaining that in another year no ship would be able to anchor there safely. Even so there was "no clear spot under four fathoms and at a great distance from the shore."

The British occupied Aden in 1839, and its immense superiority as a port and the security and advantages which it assumed under British rule drew the commerce away from Mocha. Some years later steamships were in service which were able to make the voyage from Suez, Kosseir or Jeddah to Aden or Socotra without needing to coal or re-victual at Mocha. The heavy duties on coffee, now being imposed by the Turks in the Yemen, diverted a large part of the trade through the free port of Aden, although a considerable amount was already being shipped from Loheia and Hodeida.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES¹

Year	Events
400	Abyssinian invasion of Yemen.
525	Further Abyssinian invasion.
576	Persian invasion of Yemen. Naval bases established by Persians along the shores of the Red Sea.
628	Persians evacuated Yemen.
1513	Albuquerque sailed for Mocha after an unsuccessful attack on Aden. Mocha then "a place of little importance."
1530	Suleiman, Turkish Pasha of Egypt.
1538	Turks invaded Yemen and established themselves. Suleiman Pasha stopped at Mocha on his return from the expedition against Diu; he describes it as a castle or fortress. Suleiman left for Kamaran in mid-January, 1539, after the Governor of Mocha had given him provisions and male and female slaves.
1540	Ferão Mendes Pinto captured with eleven others by the Turks and taken to Mocha as a slave.
1568	Imam Moktadar handed over Mocha to the Turks after many years of fighting.
1580	Ali Bey, a Turkish officer, left Mocha to attack Muscat and Portuguese colonies in East Africa.
1586	Ruy Gonçalves de Camera intended to burn Mocha and sent men ashore to obtain water.
1596*	Pedro Paez and Antonio de Monserrat spent a year in Mocha before being ransomed.
1609	Revett and Glascock in Mocha. Sharpeigh arrived in the "Ascension." Jourdain arrived June 30 from Sana'a.
1610	Middleton arrived November 13 with the "Peppercorn" (Nicolas Downton), the "Darling" (William Pemberton) and the "Samuel."
1612	Saris in the "Clove," Towerson in the "Hector," and the "Thomas" arrived in Mocha on the Eighth Voyage. No trade.
1616	Van den Broecke and Arentsz arrived in the "Nassau."
1618	Shilling, Baffin, Salbanke, Haynes and Barker in the "Anne Royall." Factory established.
1620	Imam overran most of the Tihama. He attacked Mocha but was repelled. Van den Broecke at Mocha in the "'t Wapen van Zeelandt."
1621	Dutch ships "Sampsom" and "Weesp" at Mocha.
1622	Willelm de Milde, Dutch Factor, imprisoned. "'t Wapen van Zeelandt" and "Noord Holland" at Mocha.
1623	"Heusden" (Francois Lemmens), a Dutch ship, at Mocha.
1626	Seven Dutch ships at Mocha from the Moluccas.
1628	Turks evacuated completely after Imam's revolt. Job Grijp at Mocha, Dutch factory in existence.
1630	Turks recover Mocha.

1. The asterisk denotes an approximate date.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Events</u>
1636	Turks surrendered Mocha to the Imam.
1650*	Danish factory flourished.
1662	Herbert Hugo, Dutch pirate, looted Mocha. Anthony Smith, E.I.C. agent, closed English factory.
1663	Large shipment of coffee to the Netherlands.
1683	Date of Augustine Fitzhugh's chart and panorama of Mocha.
1690*	Ovington's description of Mocha.
1696	Nicholas Welters and Adriaen van del Heuvel, Dutch Factors at Mocha.
1700	William Daniell visited Mocha.
1707	Dutch established a permanent factory in the town.
1709	De Merveille in the "Curieux" and Champloret in the "Diligent" made commercial treaty with Governor of Mocha.
1710	Briselaine in the "Diligent" and de la Lande in the "Paix" arrived in Mocha.
1712	Alexander Hamilton visited Mocha.
1714	Hamilton stayed four months in Mocha.
1716	Hamilton arrived in the "Morning Star" and stayed three months.
1719	Dutch ships "Vrieswijk" and "Amsterdam" at Mocha. Joan van Leewen and Peter Zeegers arrived as new Factors.
1720	Several ships from Ostend at Mocha. Joan van Leewen, Dutch Factor, arrested.
1738	Dutch East India Company decided to cease operations at Mocha. Dela-Garde-Jazier in command of the "Maurépas" and a small French squadron bombarded Mocha. Other French ships were the "Héron" (Bachelier), the "St. Pierre" and "Indien."
1750*	Portuguese still shared in Mocha trade. Swedish East India Company agent reported on trade prospects.
1760	Abd er-Rub seized Mauza and threatened Mocha.
1763	Niebuhr arrived. Von Haven buried in Mocha cemetery on May 26. Francis Scott as English Resident.
1769	Bruce anchored off North Fort.
1770	English factory attacked. Two "sloops of war" sent to Mocha to exact compensation.
1776	E.I.C. vessel "Swallow" called at Mocha.
1777	Irwin arrived in the "Adventure" (Captain Bacon) on April 10. Mr. Horseley as English Resident.
1778	Parsons arrived in the "Prudent" (Captain John Shaw) January 23; he sailed in the "Alexander" (Captain David Anderson) on April 2.
1781	Rooke visited Mocha.
1787	"La Méduse," French Royal Frigate, and the "Vénus," also a French ship, surveyed Red Sea under Comte de Rosily.
1788	Cloupet de l'Ile de France visited Mocha. The French Company's ship "La Louise Julie" at Mocha.
1789	The "Amis-Réunis" (Captain L. de Grandpré) at Mocha. "The Prince de Condé" reached Suez in March having called at Mocha. In spring the French Royal Corvette "Auguste" arrived at Suez. Lieutenant R. White in the "Panther" at Mocha.
1790*	Northern Tihama held by Sherifs of Abu Arish, but Mocha (and its dependency Zeila) remained in the hands of the Imam.
1795	H.C. Ship "Panther" (Captain Charles Court) surveyed Mocha roads and parts of the Red Sea.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Events</u>
1799	Commodore Blankett with the "Leopard" and "Orestes" at Mocha in March. Austin Bissell in the "Leopard." Captain Samuel Wilson as British Resident. Dr. Pringle first visited Red Sea with Lieutenant-Colonel Murray.
1801	Popham off Mocha in the "Romney" with the "Victor" and "Sensible" (Captain Sause). Dr. Pringle at Mocha. Comte de Noé visited the port.
1802	Popham at Mocha. Elliot, Lamb and Pringle traveled from Mocha to Sana'a.
1804	The "Antelope" (Captain Keys) and "Fox" (Captain Vashon) arrived in April with Henry Salt and Viscount Valentia. Pringle was Resident, Benzoni Assistant Resident. Valentia returned in December in the "Panther" (Captain Charles Court) with the "Assaye" (Lieutenant Maxfield). Captain Rudland of the Bombay Army arrived with Valentia. He was later made Resident.
1805	The East India Company's cruiser "Princess Augusta" (Captain Bennet) arrived in April. Henry Salt left for Massawah. Portuguese ship "Rosalia" (Captain de Costa) arrived in July. Valentia left Mocha in November to join Henry Salt at Massawah.
1806	Wahabis beganto overrun the Tihama.
1809	Vicenzo Maurizi finished his residence in Mocha as French Government Agent. Sultan Hassan flourished as Governor of Mocha. He remained independent of Sana'a, spent much money on strengthening Mocha's defenses. He died in 1810. The "Marian" (Captain Weatherhead) arrived in October with Henry Salt. Captain Rudland, Resident; Benzoni, Assistant Resident.
1810	Seetzen at Mocha. Mr. Aikin was medical officer of the English factory and spent over five years in Mocha. Benzoni, Assistant Resident.
1813	Faqih Salih, Governor of Mocha, received Agha Yusuf, envoy of Mohammed Ali Pasha, in November. Salih agreed to provide him with ships.
1815	J.S. Buckingham at Mocha in the "Suffeerut-ul-Russoul" (Captain Boog). H.C. Ship "Mercury" (Captain Blast) at Mocha. Theodore Forbes was the East India Company's representative at Mocha. The "Prince of Wales" (Captain Maillard) at Mocha in February and August.
1817	The British Residency looted and a British officer insulted by the Governor. Lieutenant Domicetti (Captain of the "Prince of Wales") and other East India Company servants at Mocha attacked. Imam Ahmad died. Mocha remained in possession of his son and successor Abdullah.
1820	Captain G.F. Sadleir spent six weeks in Mocha having arrived there from Jidda on February 11 on his way to Bombay in the "Prince of Wales."
1821	Captain Bruce from the "Topaz" (Captain Lumley) with a small body of men stormed the town and forced an entry. Mocha bombarded by the "Topaz" on January 4. Lieutenant Robson of H.E.I. Company's Marine left in charge of affairs at Mocha with 300 Sepoys.
1826	Captain M.E. Bagnold as Resident and Political Agent. American brig "Anne" (Captain Charles Millet) at Mocha.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Events</u>
1832	Sayed Abdullah Doraib, Governor of Mocha. Meteoric shower observed night of November 7.
1833	Ruler expelled from Mocha by the Egyptians on March 16 and taken on board the "Tigris." Mocha plundered by Beduin for three days. British Agent was Sheikh Tayeb Ibramjee. Mocha handed over to Ibrahim Pasha. Captain W. Bouchier at the port after being wrecked in the "Nautilus" (Captain W. Lowe). Wellsted at Mocha.
1835	The "Coote" (Captain Rose) at Mocha in April. Fontainier visited Mocha. Von Wrede at Mocha in Third Regiment of the Egyptian Army.
1836	The "Palinurus" (Captain Haines) at Mocha making plan of roadstead. Lieutenants Cruttenden and Hulton also aboard. Hulton died. J. Esdaile visited the town.
1838	Date of Haines' panorama of Mocha on Admiralty chart.
1836-37	Yemenis revolted against the Egyptians. Sidi Qasim, uncle of Imam, arrived at Mocha on June 4, 1837, with 200 Arab soldiers.
1839	Ibrahim Pasha's forces commenced evacuating the Tihama. "Euphrates" (Captain Rogers) at Mocha. "Hugh Lindsay" at Mocha. Rochet d'Héricourt, Arnaud, Botta and Schimper visited Mocha. Captain Melville at Mocha with East India Company's dispatches. "Emma Roberts" off Mocha.
1840	Egyptians withdrew from Mocha and Husein ibn Ali assumed control of the town which he ruined by his misgovernment. This drove many people to Aden. Husein cut down the Union Jack and insulted Lieutenant Gordon, Indian Navy. The Captain of the "Zenobia," the East India Company's frigate sent to protect British subjects. Captain Dent as English Agent.
1842	The French naval vessel "Prévoyante" (J. Passama) at Mocha. Dr. J. L. Krapf and Mr. Bell at Mocha. Rochet d'Héricourt's second visit.
1843	Adolph von Wrede, the Hadhramaut explorer, at Mocha in Third Regiment of Mohammed Ali's army.
1847	Several naval ratings from the "Tigris" deserted Mocha.
1848	Imam Mohammed Yahya took Mocha but soon lost it to Husein ibn Ali. Two men of the Madras artillery deserted from Aden to Mocha. Amir Fattah Mohammed, who defended Mocha against Husein, fled to the H. E. I. Company's "Mahi."
1849	The Turks under Tufiq Pasha seized Hodeida and made an expedition into the Tihama. Husein ibn Ali retired to Abu Arish. Mohammed ibn Aoun appointed Governor of Mocha.
1856	Cholera epidemic in Mocha. Visit of H. A. Stern.
1878*	Manzoni visited Mocha.
1882	New Admiralty chart prepared. Mocha surveyed by H. M. S. "Fawn" (Commander Aldrich).
1891	Yemeni rising against the Turks.
1896	Earthquake at Mocha.
1904	Yemeni rising against the Turks.
1905	Cholera epidemic in Mocha.
1909	Burchardt and Benzoni murdered in December. Beneyton's first journey.
1911	Yemeni rising against the Turks.
1912	Italo-Turkish war. Mocha bombarded by the Italians.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Events</u>
1913	Germans negotiated for establishing a coaling station at Mocha.
1915	Wyman Bury in Mocha.
1919	Turks finally evacuated Yemen.
1921	Hodeida and the Tihama to the north handed over to the Idrisi. Mocha in the hands of Imam.
1922	Cherruau, Ely, MacGovern, Lamare offered to open up Mocha as a port.
1926	Hedwig Weiss-Sonnenburg at Mocha.
1931	Petrie in Mocha.
1941	Ingrams in Mocha.
1956	Reports current of Mocha being reconstructed. Société des Batignolles received contract for rebuilding Mocha.

